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CMP-SPRCM-76-10

中华人民共和国杂志选译

Selections from People's Republic of China Magazines

American Consulate General
Hong Kong

No. 866
April 12, 1976

This edition is printed in the United States of America for dissemination in the Western Hemisphere, Europe, the Mediterranean, and the west coast of Africa from material produced by the American Consulate General, Hong Kong. All queries concerning this edition should be sent to:

National Technical Information
Service (152.12)
U.S. Department of Commerce
Springfield, Virginia 22151

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study & Criticism/)

The Sage K'ang and the Sage Confucius - by Chin Pai-nien 1

Comment on Trotsky-Zinoviev Alliance's Self-Examination - by Chai Hai and Fan I 11

The Working Class Is the Main Force in Beating Back the Right Deviationist Wind of Reversing Verdicts 17

Proletarian Dictatorship and Restriction of Bourgeois Rights - by Chuang Lan 28

A Most Promising Beginning 34

TABLE OF CONTENTS: Study and Criticism No. 2, February 14, 1976 39

* * *

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The Sage K'ang and the Sage Confucius

- Comment on K'ang Yu-wei's bourgeois reformist road

by

Chin Pai-nien (靳柏年)

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 3, March 14, 1976)

The name of K'ang Yu-wei has always been associated with such terms as reformists, royalists and grand masters of restoration, and K'ang Yu-wei himself was intimately tied with Confucius. He frequently spoke of Confucius and styled himself as a sage. He was called K'ang the sage or the sage from Nanhai. K'ang's trilogy -- reform, preservation of the emperor and restoration -- reflected from one facet the rapid metabolic changes of modern Chinese society.

(I)

Imperialism began its aggression against China in mid-19th century. In order to avert national extinction, a faction headed by K'ang Yu-wei called for learning from the West and political reform in the interest of national rejuvenation. This stirred up a bourgeois political reformist movement. At that time, K'ang Yu-wei, as described by Lu Hsün, was "the headman on the bandwagon, the principal character of the Wu Hsu Coup of 1898, a watcher of the trend of the time." He was a progressive Chinese seeking truth from the West.

However, the reformists represented by K'ang Yu-wei were a group of men who had just converted themselves into the bourgeoisie as the feudal camp was falling apart. They had not only new political and economic demands characteristic of the bourgeoisie but also the old qualities of a strong feudal character. Strictly speaking, they had not become an independent bourgeois force. Therefore, on the one hand, they imported from the Western bourgeoisie such ideas as the theory of vulgar evolution and civil equality and some natural-scientific knowledge; on the other hand, they were still constrained to seek the help of Confucius, the greatest authority on the feudal traditional ideology of more than two thousand years, grafted the knowledge learned from the West on Confucius, conducted a new molding of Confucius and turned an old idol into a new idol.

From the first, K'ang Yu-wei was a man cultivated in feudal education. As a young man, he already posed as head of the rationalistic faction "aspiring to become a sage." Before and after the Sino-Franco War, stimulated by the harsh circumstances, he was dissatisfied with life as it was, and responded to the bourgeois reformist trend of thought which was fermenting. In 1888, while in Peking he submitted his first memorial to the Ch'ing emperor, urging reform. When the attempt failed, he was extremely annoyed and vented his grievances in poetry. He wrote: "Guarded by tigers and leopards, the gate of the imperial palace is damp and cannot be opened, however much one may try." The gate of the Forbidden City in

which the Ch'ing emperor lived was tightly guarded by ferocious and stubborn bureaucrats and it was so awesome as to turn people away. He returned to Kwangtung and took up teaching, expressing his views around the Confucian doctrines, confident that by wielding the stick of the ancient sage, he could at last subdue the ferocious "tigers and leopards" and knock open the "imperial gate." To this end, he exerted himself and wrote several books, among which Study of Classics Forged During the Hsin Period and Inquiry into Confucius' Reform produced relatively greater influence and caused quite a turmoil in intellectual circles. They were eventually banned and destroyed by the Ch'ing Government. His favorite pupil Liang Ch'i-ch'ao bragged about these works as causing "typhoon" and "a big volcanic eruption."

In Study of Classics Forged During the Hsin Period, K'ang Yu-wei put forward his arguments for Confucius' reform in the name of the ancients and that the old text classics were false classics as they had been tampered with. During the Western Han period, a batch of Confucian classics was discovered in the walls of Confucius' old residence, written in the archaic style then no longer in use. Hence they were called old texts. K'ang Yu-wei asserted that these ancient text classics were forged by Liu Hsin when he assisted Wang Mang in usurping power and setting up the "Hsin" dynasty and were classics of the "Hsin" dynasty, not Confucian classics. Hence they were false classics, not true classics. He even went so far as to say that the ancient text classics cited in Ch'ü Yüan's Ch'u Tzu and Ssuma Ch'ien's Historical Records were added by Liu Hsin. Before then no one had ever dared to touch one word of Confucius' classics. When K'ang Yu-wei had the temerity to denounce some of them as false, he was of course regarded by those Confucian diehards as an unforgivable rebel. Such was the "wind" whipped up by Study of Classics Forged During the Hsin Period. As a matter of fact, K'ang's opposition to the ancient text classics was only directed at refuting the old theory that Confucius "does not write but only transmits" in order to prove that Confucius not only "transmitted" but also "wrote" the Six Classics, a crackerjack with the innovative spirit. This eliminated the ideological obstacle to his theory of Confucius' reform in the name of the ancients.

What was the basic idea of Inquiry into Confucius' Reform? K'ang Yu-wei believed that while the various scholars during the Spring and Autumn and Warring States periods carried out reform in the name of the ancients, Confucius synthesized the reforms conducted in the name of the ancients. "The benevolent rule of the monarch was practiced in the name of King Wen" and "peace under democracy was practiced in the name of Yao and Shun." What prevailed might not necessarily conform to the "facts about Yao, Shun and King Wen," hence "in the name of." K'ang further explained: "All the sage seeks is to bring succor to the world, his words need not be trusted." That is to say, one might openly create rumors and lies if this helped his political propaganda. Why did Confucius want to create a false appearance by using the names of ancients? K'ang said that it was human nature to "glorify the past and slight the present," and his bringing out the ghosts of Yao, Shun and King Wen was intended to frighten the living. Here K'ang virtually regarded himself as the "master." He invoked Confucius to frighten others, and while he wanted to introduce reform, he was afraid

of being attacked and defeated, manifesting his innate feebleness as a reformist. His bourgeois reformist idea was put forward shyly under cover of the Confucian learning. That was all there was to Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's reference to "a big volcanic eruption"!

The theory of reform in the name of ancients was the basis for K'ang's dressing up Confucius in the interest of his carrying out reform, and the Kungyang School of Spring and Autumn was his model for his fabricating Confucius' reform. Tung Chung-shu of Western Han, being an expert on the Kungyang School, was highly recommended by K'ang as a man most versed in the real essence of Confucianism. "One must read Master Tung in order to understand Kungyang" and "probe into the fundamental principles of Confucius." ("Tung's Learning of Spring and Autumn") Besides, from the Kungyang School K'ang deduced the so-called "three ages," that is, the "age of disorder," the "age of prosperity (security)," and the "age of peace (universal harmony)." To perfect his contrived theory of reform in the name of the ancients, he mixed the "theory of three ages" with the theory of evolution, comparing the "age of disorder" to the age of monarchy, the "age of prosperity (security)" to the age of constitutional monarchy, and the "age of peace (universal harmony)" to the age of democracy. The "theory of three ages" of the Kungyang School was originally a theory of historical regression from "peace" to "prosperity" to "disorder." But here the revivalist Confucius was dressed up as an evolutionist, regression was taken for progress, obstinacy for enlightenment, and this was indeed a big invention of K'ang Yu-wei in worshipping Confucius.

When K'ang Yu-wei was carrying out his reform activities, the T'ai-p'ing T'ien-kuo revolution had already failed and the bourgeois democratic revolutionary forces were still in the process of being formed. His demands for reform more or less hurt the feudal diehard forces, and he was looked upon as a rebel who "challenged the sage and acted unlawfully." It was precisely on this point that people were able to accord him a definite historical position. Yet his reform, apart from being aimed at national salvation and preservation and changing some old ancestral institutions, was directed at preventing people from rising up in revolution. In his "First Memorial to the Ch'ing Emperor" he warned Emperor Kuanghsü that he should remember the lesson of the "Chint'ien Campaign" and praised Tseng Kuo-fan and the others who crushed the T'ai-p'ing T'ien-kuo as accomplishing the cause of "exterminating the bandits and reviving the nation." In his "Preface to Notes on the French Revolution to the Throne," he said that Louis XVI did not act decisively to set up a parliament and enforce a constitution and instead "hesitated." So, when the revolution arose, he "perished together with his state and became a laughing stock of the world." He wanted Emperor Kuanghsü to take Louis XVI as the mirror and introduce reform as early as possible in order to prevent the eruption of revolution. It is not difficult to see that K'ang Yu-wei's reform was essentially a stone for sharpening the bourgeoisie and to patch up the heaven of feudalism. His theory of reform in the name of ancients and his embellishing Confucius were concrete manifestations of this kind of patch-up work reformism.

K'ang Yu-wei was confident that by so doing, he could make Confucius and Tung Chung-shu serve his reform and enact a new historical drama. But the result was the very opposite of what was intended. When you want to paint an old body with a new varnish, the result is that what is new is eroded and stifled by the strong feudal influence and turned into what is old. As it transpired, it was not K'ang Yu-wei who led Confucius and Tung Chung-shu by the nose, but it was the other way round.

(II)

After the reform of 1898, the I Ho Tuan Movement broke out and China's revolutionary situation developed rapidly. Many among the reformists changed their minds and came over to the revolution. K'ang Yu-wei, as head of the reformists, refused to repent and still adamantly embraced the sage Confucius without letting go of him. At this time, the halo of reform had already vanished from his head, and what was retained was only his features as a royalist who opposed the revolution and promoted bourgeois reformism aimed at "aiding and abetting the tiger."

In September 1898, when the Coup of Wu Hsu broke out, K'ang Yu-wei and his trumpeter Liang Ch'i-ch'ao fled to Japan one after another. Sun Yat-sen, who had then set up the Hsing Chung Hui (Society for the Revival of China) abroad and was organizing revolutionary forces, wanted to pay a comfort call on K'ang Yu-wei with the hope that K'ang would change his mind and cooperate with the revolutionaries. Yet, K'ang, claiming to be a "court teacher," was unwilling to get in touch with the "rebels" and refused to see Sun Yat-sen. In June the following year, on the basis of a secret letter delivered to him from Emperor Kuanghsü which said "my throne is difficult to preserve," K'ang hoisted the banner for the preservation of the emperor in Canada and elsewhere and organized a "Company for Saving and Preserving the Great Ch'ing Emperor," namely, the Society To Preserve the Emperor or Pao Huang Hui. Why was it called a "company"? Its purpose was to seek "financial contributions from the wealthy," to cheat overseas Chinese into making investments in the preservation of the emperor. From then on, K'ang became an open enemy of the revolution.

Anxious to preserve the emperor, when the I Ho Tuan anti-imperialist and patriotic movement arose in 1900, K'ang Yu-wei wooed T'ang Ts'ai-ch'ang's independent army and took the opportunity to organize armed forces along the middle reaches of the Yangtze River to defend the emperor, clamoring for the need to "help foreigners attack the Tuan bandits in order to save the emperor." Giving the royalists a moral boost, he said, "Now that England helps us, we shall be invincible" and when the efforts to defend the emperor were successful, we would "sign a pact with foreign countries and practice Western laws and methods." Restorationists and capitulationists always breathe from the same nostrils. Can one see that when the population rises up in revolution, the imperialists, the feudal emperor and the reformists are quickly united on the same front? Whereas previously K'ang had the idea of relying on the imperialists to help him carry out reform, now he wanted to collaborate with the imperialists in

slaughtering the Chinese to preserve the emperor -- at the price of signing a capitulationist pact with foreign aggressors, "practicing Western laws and methods," and turning China into a colony. In his "Letter to Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, Hsü Ch'in and Mai Meng-hua," K'ang disclosed his consistent thinking: "I have never worried about China being gobbled up by foreign countries; what I have always deeply feared is internal revolutionary disturbance." This confirmed that the bourgeois reformist road was a road of worshipping Confucius and national betrayal.

The reformists' political degeneration was linked to the daily sharpening of their ideological inclination to worship Confucius. At first, to publicize reform, K'ang Yu-wei injected the theory of vulgar evolution into the Kungyang theory of three ages to constitute a conception of historical evolution from the age of disorder (monarchy) to the age of prosperity (constitutional monarchy) and the age of peace (democracy). This conception, which struck at the idea of venerating the ancient, the idea that "the present is not as good as the past," might be regarded as K'ang's outstanding feat in revising Confucius. Yet at this moment he had the theory of historical evolution greatly diluted by saying that of the three ages "each is further divided into three ages," and "each of these small ages is sub-divided into three smaller ages," thus turning three ages into nine ages and then 81 ages. "The number is infinite, and the changes in the destiny of the world will govern the process of evolution." In this way, the historical stages as manifested by "ages" were abolished, and history was but an accumulation of an infinite number of months and years. How could there be any evolution to speak of? This was completely identified with Confucius' reactionary viewpoint of repetition that "things inherited from Chou may be known for a hundred generations later." However, K'ang Yu-wei was still mumbling about the need for "gradual advance" and the impossibility of "skipping the steps" in order to oppose qualitative changes and oppose the revolution. He said that for China to "leap into the world of democracy overnight is like mounting a terrace three chang high without the use of a ladder, and like crossing a river ten feet deep without the use of a boat, and the result would inevitably be death through fall or drowning." ("A Statement of Recent Political Views of the Gentleman from Nanhai") As a matter of fact, in K'ang's philosophy, there was no "procedure" to "follow" and no "steps" to "skip," and "ladder" and "boat" all became useless things.

The time is on the march, and the people want revolution. Despite the fact that K'ang Yu-wei placed Confucius' memorial tablet on his head and chanted scripture for preserving the emperor, China's democratic revolutionary forces were spurting out fire everywhere, and the fire spread to K'ang's feet. In 1902, those Chinese bourgeois elements overseas who were drawn by K'ang into the Pao Huang Hui became increasingly disillusioned about the Ch'ing Government and indicated their desire to shift to the revolution. Seized with extreme panic, K'ang racked his brain and wrote "Letter of Reply to Overseas Chinese Chambers of Commerce in North and South America on the Feasibility of Practicing Constitutional Monarchy and the Infeasibility of Practicing Revolution in China," which was also known as "A Statement of

Recent Political Views of the Gentleman from Nanhai." Consisting of as many as twenty thousand characters, this lengthy article strongly urged against revolution. On his statistical survey of 16 countries in Europe, he said that with the exception of France which had gone through a revolution and Russia which practiced absolute monarchy, the rest were states of constitutional monarchy. The French Revolution took a toll of more than a million lives and the upheaval lasted for several decades. If a revolution were to occur in such a large country as China, a major upheaval would surely last for decades or even centuries, and the ultimate result would be either extinction or dismemberment. He again invoked the cliche of the Kungyang theory of three ages, saying nonsensically that under no circumstances must we discard the ready-made road of constitutional monarchy and that the feudal structure represented by the "emperor," namely, Emperor Kuanghsü, must not be changed. K'ang's "absurd words" could not but be turned into "bitter tears" under the blow of the revolutionary storm. He lamented: "Previously people pinned the hope on restoration in making the country strong; now they want to do so through revolution. Previously reform proposals originated from commoners; now they come from scholar-officials." ("A Statement of Recent Political Views of the Gentleman from Nanhai.")

Originally, K'ang Yu-wei intended to use Confucius the sage as a brick with which to knock open the door of the Forbidden City. Now he took Confucius the sage and the history he compiled as a fire extinguisher. But, not only did he fail to put out the fire, but he led the fire to burn himself. Right at this time, Sun Yat-sen wrote "A Refutation of Pao Huang Pao /Preservation of the Emperor Journal/" and Chang T'ai-yen wrote "A Refutation of K'ang Yu-wei's Views on Revolution." Both articles unmasked K'ang as a reformist and categorically declared that revolution and reform were two totally different roads and must in no way be confused. This debate helped the revolutionaries recognize K'ang's features as a royalist and brought about a new upsurge in the bourgeois democratic revolution.

K'ang Yu-wei's royalist activities continued to lose public support. In the several years beginning from 1904, he toured Europe and America as a house guest of the imperialists. In his "Letter to Peking," he wrote: "Although I have toured most of the world and the four continents, having visited 30 countries and read foreign books daily, what I follow is still the learning of Confucius." It can be seen that K'ang toured the capitalist world with the cross of Confucianism on his back. He said, "In the past I over-estimated Europe and America," and he felt that it was a mistake to promote political reform by learning from the West. In his eyes, Confucius was the "king of doctors" who was capable of curing all kinds of diseases, and his prescriptions could not be matched even by those of Western "ancient sages" such as Rousseau, Voltaire, and Montesquieu. He took the revolutionaries to task because they discarded "Confucius'" prescriptions, saying that they were waiting only to die. Then, pointing his finger at the nose of the revolutionaries, he strongly denounced their criticism of Confucius, saying they "will not be pleased until the centuries-old Chinese civilization is destroyed and the national teachings are ruined." Such words were originally used by feudal diehards toward the end of the 19th century to denounce reformers, and K'ang himself was among those who were so

denounced. Now he reversed his role and used these words to denounce revolutionaries so as to show his remorse to Confucius and atone for his sin. Those who do not advance will retreat, and history is relentless.

When the Ch'ing Government, in order to forestall the revolution, pushed the political fraud of a "sham constitutional monarchy," K'ang Yu-wei was abroad. When he heard this news, he was overcome with joy and immediately set his pen to work offering ideas for the "sham constitutional monarchy." He said: "Now political parties throughout the country are joined by, and those who talk about revolution are, young people or mostly uneducated people. If parliamentarians are elected in provinces, prefectures, counties and villages and if they are all members of the gentry and scholars as well as retired ministers and wealthy merchants, they will neither join the parties nor discuss revolution. These people have the right to rule over the population, and they may also make the parties dissolve. When the revolution ceases, there is no need to worry about changes." What a cunning sage from Nanhai. However, by so doing, he also clearly described his class stand. The truth was that his constitutionalist politics was aimed at mobilizing "gentry and scholar-officials," "retired ministers," "wealthy merchants" and other conservative forces worshipping Confucius and sending them into parliaments at all levels in order to pass off the old for the new while suppressing the new forces of "young people among the population" and forestalling revolution in the name of representatives of public opinion. In this way, it would not be necessary to talk about preservation of the emperor for the emperor would preserve himself.

During his visits to Japan, America and Europe K'ang Yu-wei sang only two tunes, one for veneration of Confucius and the other for preservation of the emperor. These two tunes combined to mean preservation of the old order. It may be said that the historical road that was embarked by Confucius in his time in "touring the various states" directing his effort at the restoration of the old institutions of Western Chou was now embarked by K'ang himself.

(III)

Preceded by a prolonged struggle of the Chinese people, the Hsin Hai Revolution of 1911 finally toppled the Ch'ing Government and unhorsed the feudal emperor. Now that the emperor had fallen, Confucius, as the emperor's bodyguard, was also attacked and suffered a considerable loss of his prestige and authority. When K'ang Yu-wei received the news of the abdication of the Ch'ing emperor while abroad, he seemd to have been struck by lightning, and dizzily he wrote to his disciples: "I spent my day trying to patch up heaven, but now, before my job is done, heaven has fallen." He bitterly mourned over the "change of color in the yellow map" of the Ch'ing dynasty and condemned the revolution as "jackals having their way." Heaven was not patched up, nor was the emperor preserved. In the wake of this historical change, K'ang's activities also shifted from preservation of the emperor to restoration of the emperor.

When the Wuch'ang uprising barely started, K'ang Yu-wei hurriedly wrote an essay "On National Salvation," namely, "On Saving the Emperor," in which he nonsensically dwelt on the "infeasibility of the republican form of government in China." He still wanted to put out the fire. But before he had the time to have it published, the flames of revolution had spread through the length and breadth of the country. The Ch'ing dynasty was irretrievably lost. K'ang then tossed out another article "On Saving the Nation by Republicanism." Could it be that K'ang the sage had changed his tune? No. Under the signboard of "Republicanism," he stealthily installed an emperor, and called it a "republic with a figure-head emperor." It did not differ significantly from constitutional monarchy, but only the tune had been lowered somewhat. This was a vicious trick. Since you said the republic form of government was good, I would muddy the water and seize the signboard for my own use. When all newborn things became an irresistible force, diehards would habitually resort to this tactic of stealing the beam and replacing it with a pillar.

Who was to become the "figure-head emperor"? K'ang Yu-wei saw that the Ch'ing emperor had been spurned by all in the country, so he proposed to let a descendant of Confucius fill the role of a figure-head emperor. And with Confucius' Spring and Autumn as the constitution, China would be saved. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao chimed in and said that if "Yen Sheng Kung" were invited to become the "emperor," it would be more proper than "installing to the throne foreign princes in such countries as Greece and Norway." This appeared to be a joke, but it was no fantasy on the part of K'ang and Liang as it represented the political thinking of the bourgeois right wing at that time.

Because the bourgeois revolutionaries were unable to carry the revolution through to the end, before the political power they seized got warm in their hands, it was quickly usurped by Yüan Shih-k'ai with the support of the imperialist and feudal forces. In intellectual circles, the idea of venerating Confucius and restoring the old order was very much in the air. By 1913, societies to study Confucianism and magazines on Confucianism appeared one after another, and K'ang the sage was also delivered to the market as goods in demand. Yüan Shih-k'ai successively despatched three telegrams to him, asking him to return to China to "take charge of the teaching of the national religion." The K'ung Tao Hui /Society To Publicize the Confucian Way/ in Shantung invited him to come to Confucius' hometown to direct a moral rearmament, and the K'ung Chiao Hui /Society To Study Confucianism/ in Heilungkiang proposed to elect him President of the Central K'ung Chiao Hui. And so on and so forth. In the same year, K'ang returned to China from Japan and published in Shanghai the magazine "Compassion" he founded in Japan to carry his books and articles extolling Confucius the sage and opposing the republican form of government.

Why did he publish the magazine "Compassion"? K'ang Yu-wei, posing as a compassionate religious master, said that he published it out of "compassion." In his inaugural message he repeated the phrase "I can't endure seeing" ten times. Why? His answer was very clear. He said, "From Hsin Hai up to now, disturbances have occurred at national as well as village

levels. Robbers and thieves are rife throughout the country, and the people find the going touch." ("On the Revival of China's Soul") In a word, the nationwide situation was a terrible mess. In the past K'ang time and again attacked the revolution and the republican form of government, and now he insinuated that his prediction "has come true," proving that restoration of the old order was most feasible in China's prevailing conditions.

In the view of K'ang Yu-wei, the root-cause of this terrible mess was the renunciation of the doctrines of Confucius the sage. He described the attack on old ideas and old traditions as "the Confucian Analects has been burned as faggot and grass thrives in Confucian temples." ("Letter of Reply to K'ung Tao Hui of Shantung") Those who in the past read the Four Books and the Five Classics were able to behave themselves, and now "if Confucianism is attacked, rites and customs several thousand years old would be swept away and the human nature would be extinguished, and those without Confucian teaching would be no better than beasts." ("Comment on the Republican Form of Government") He even went so far as to resent those who did not knock their heads on the ground but only bowed before the memorial tablet of Confucius the sage. "Why keep these knees?" he asked. In the sage K'ang's physiology, the function of knees is that people can kneel down at the feet of Confucius. Going further than that, he ridiculed the present with the past by denouncing the state of Ch'in for using the rule-of-law ideas of Shang Yang and Han Fei for the governance of the state, for "taking the Six Classics as useless and burning the books and burying the Confucian scholars alive." K'ang could not forgive Ch'in for execution of the Legalist line and vented his hatred against the Hsin Hai Revolution. Just as Chairman Mao has pointed out, in the views of such royalists and restorationists, "history does not develop in the way in which new things replace the old but in the way in which every effort is made to preserve the old things and keep them from dying; not in the way in which they should use class struggle to overthrow the reactionary feudal rulers that should be overthrown, but in the way in which they reject class struggle by the oppressed people and surrender to the reactionary feudal rulers in the manner of Wu Hsün."

At this time, the thousands of words spoken by K'ang Yu-wei could be summed up into one sentence: "Nothing but restoration can save China." ("Correspondence with Hsü T'ai-fu") What he repeatedly argued was that revolution was impermissible for it was a disaster, a catastrophe, and all we could do was to seek the blessings of Confucius the sage. When he wrote "On the Revival of China's Soul," he meant to revive the soul of Confucius. When he wrote "Discussion on Taking Confucianism as National Religion To Conform to Heaven's Will," he meant to use "Confucianism as national religion to enjoy Heaven's blessings." He wanted people to kneel before Confucius so as to restore the function of the knees, and so on. More than ten years before that, he wrote "On Saving the Nation with Material Resources," and later he wrote "On Saving the Nation by Republicanism." And now he called for "saving the nation with restoration." Although different terms were used, the aim of worshipping Confucius and preserving the emperor remained the same. To restore the old order, a sage did not have a hatchet but only a rusted pen. Whereas in the past he relied on the emperor in introducing

reform, now he had to look to warlords in restoring the emperor. So, in 1917, K'ang Yu-wei, the sage from Nanhai, enacted a restorationist farce in Peking with the Marshal with the big pigtail, Chang Hsün. When the attempt failed, the sage fell and took refuge in the American embassy, lamenting in his poems over "a lonely minister with white hair."

Confucius the sage, living in a period of turmoil during the Spring and Autumn and Warring States periods, opposed change and desperately tried to drag the chariot of history back to the old track of the slave system of Western Chou. K'ang Yu-wei, living in an era of great upheaval in China's modern society, opposed the revolution and desperately tried to drag the chariot of history back to the old road of feudalism. These two restorationists did not have a good end. In the year K'ang was hiding in the American embassy, in the ancient city Peking and throughout the vast expanse of China, shouts "Down with the Confucian shop" merged into a huge sound wave. There was no more place for K'ang the sage to accommodate himself.

* * *

Comment on Trotsky-Zinoviev Alliance's Self-Examination

by

Chai Hai (柴海) and Fan I (范贻)

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 3, March 14, 1976)

With the victory of the October Revolution, the Soviet Union became the world's first socialist state. While the international bourgeoisie tried by every means to destroy this newborn proletarian regime, the internal exploiting class, overthrown but not yet annihilated, attempted to stage a comeback. The Party created by Lenin led the Soviet people to wage a hard and splendid struggle to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. By 1925, significant achievements were attained by the Soviet Union in socialist revolution and construction, with industrial and agricultural production almost regaining pre-war levels, and the period of national economic revival was about to terminate. Under this situation, whether to follow the path pointed out by Lenin, thoroughly carry out the socialist revolution and build the Soviet Union into a powerful socialist country or to abandon the socialist road and allow the restoration of capitalism, became the focal point of the two-line struggle within the Soviet Communist Party.

Toward the end of 1925, the 14th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party established a general line for socialist industrialization. The essence of this general line was to transform the Soviet Union -- independently and under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat -- from an agricultural state into a socialist industrial state. In order to counter the Party's general line for socialist industrialization, Trotsky and his gang peddled the theory of "world division of labor" and the so-called policy of "ultra-industrialization," reharping on the old tune that socialism could not win victory in one country, which in fact amounted to making the Soviet Union the appendage of world capitalism. At the same time, under the pretext of accelerating industrialization, they also blamed the Party for developing industrialization at too slow a pace and put forward a line of disrupting industrialization, splitting the worker-peasant alliance and then restoring capitalism. Stalin pointed out: The Trotskyists "are industrialists in words but are accomplices of opponents of industrialization in deeds." ("On the Oppositionist Alliance in the CPSU (B)") Meanwhile, the "neo-oppositionists" headed by Zinoviev likewise opposed the Party's general line of socialist industrialization and the dictatorship of the proletariat. The anti-Party activities of the Trotskyists and the Zinovievians were subjected to severe criticism by the Party Central Committee headed by Stalin. But they did not reconcile themselves to defeat, and in the summer of 1926, they grouped together to form an anti-Party alliance to continue their attacks against the Party. They hopped from one Party branch to another to propagate their opportunist line, but they were once more condemned by the masses of Party members. By force of circumstances,

the Trotsky-Zinoviev alliance put out a "statement," which reads as follows:

> We resolutely renounce the theory and practice of "factional and group freedom," which we regard as contradictory to Leninism and the resolutions of the Party. We take the implementation of the Party's resolution prohibiting factional activities as our own obligation.
>
> At the same time, we believe it our duty to publicly admit to the Party: In a series of incidents following the 14th Congress of the Party, we and our fellow-travellers resorted to a course of action in the struggle to defend our own views. Because this course of action violated Party discipline and went beyond the scope of inner-Party ideological struggle, we embarked on the road of factional activities. We believe these activities to be absolutely wrong, and therefore we hereby announce our resolute determination to renounce the factional methods adopted in defense of our views, insofar as these methods are harmful to the unity of the Party. Besides, we appeal to all comrades who hold views similar to ours to dissolve immediately all factions and groups formed on the basis of the "oppositionist" viewpoint.
>
> -- "Pravda," October 17, 1926

Although both Trotsky and Zinoviev signed this "statement" published in the newspaper and seemed to admit defeat, in practice, far from repenting, they secretly carried out even more clandestine anti-Party activities. They kept slandering the Bolshevik Party as having degenerated, and threatened to "sweep away like rubbish the political line of ignorant and shameless plagiarists" implemented by the Party Central Committee headed by Stalin, thereby pointing the spearhead directly at Lenin. On August 5, 1927, Stalin clearly pointed out at the joint session of the Soviet Communist Party's Central Committee and Central Control Commission that Trotsky and Zinoviev would be allowed to stay on the Central Committee only if they gave up all absurdities attacking the Leninist line and all opportunist factional activities dividing the Party. Here they were given yet another chance to correct their mistakes. Under these circumstances, the Trotsky-Zinoviev alliance was forced to retreat, and made another self-examination statement:

> We resolutely condemn any attempt to establish a second party. It is our view that the road of establishing a second party in the Soviet Union would be extremely dangerous. We will do everything in our power and take every measure to oppose any such attempt. We most resolutely and absolutely condemn any splittist

> policy. We will carry out all resolutions of the CPSU (B) and its Central Committee. We are prepared to do everything possible to eliminate all elements of factional activities.
>
> -- "Pravda," August 10, 1927

Was this statement sincere or false? Action was needed to provide the answer. Accordingly, Stalin reminded comrades of the whole Party at the time: "Never should we believe the oppositionists because they have uttered a few words," and "we should examine them according to their deeds." ("The Party and the Opposition") This was yet another attempt to save them. But, in August 1927, before the ink on the statement of repentance signed by the Trotsky-Zinoviev alliance was dry, they continued to hold secret anti-Party meetings and came up with a new anti-Leninist political program, the so-called "Political Program of 83 Persons." In it, they verbally advocated the showing of loyalty toward the Party, but actually violated the Party's resolutions and ridiculed all acts of loyalty toward the Party. They verbally expressed opposition to a split, but actually disrupted the unity of the Party and pushed a splittist line. Verbally they approved of the industrialization policy and even blamed the Central Committee for failing to conduct industrialization at an adequately rapid pace, but actually they ridiculed and distorted the Party's industrialization policy. Such inconsistencies between words and deeds could be found everywhere. When Trotsky and Zinoviev were found to be beyond cure, they were expelled from the Party, an inevitable result of their repeating the mistakes and refusing to repent.

Engels said: "All sectarians are characterized by their mutual dependence and conduct of conspiratory activities." ("Letter to T. Cuno") The formation of the anti-Party alliance between Trotsky and Zinoviev was by no means accidental. As everyone knows, in his article "Lessons of the October Revolution," Trotsky criticized Zinoviev for his capitulationist mistakes in opposing the armed uprisings in October 1917, and referred to him as a Rightist within the Party, or a semi-Menshevik. For his part, Zinoviev wrote numerous articles condemning Trotsky's attacks against the Party in 1923 and 1924. Zinoviev even went as far as to say: "Whoever wishes to unite with Trotsky now and to build up the Party in cooperation with Trotskyism which is openly opposed to Bolshevism -- whoever does this turns his back against the foundations of Leninism." This shows that they were formerly not birds in the same cage. But, dictated by the need to oppose the Leninist line, they concluded dirty deals between themselves, exchanged compliments and mutually withdrew the criticisms they had previously leveled against each other. In the summer of 1926, Trotsky repented his earlier accusations against Zinoviev, who, in turn, said that Trotsky "was correct" in 1923. In Stalin's words, Zinoviev, "who still condemned Trotsky yesterday, kisses him today." ("The 15th Congress of the CPSU (B)") This penetratingly discloses that all opportunists will in the end invariably embrace each other in seeking a common political end.

The collapse of the Trotsky-Zinoviev alliance was likewise not accidental. Trotsky was from the very beginning a waverer. He met Lenin in London as early as 1902, expressed his support for Iskra which the latter had founded, and did do some useful work. But he never really comprehended revolution as he frequently flitted between the "Economists" headed by Martynov and the "Iskra-ists" led by Lenin, and was dubbed "Tushino deserter" (the name given in turbulent times in Russia to soldiers who deserted from one camp to another). Lenin hit the nail on the head when he pointed out: "What a smart Trotsky!! He always resorts to the same tactics: vacillation, deception and swindle, assuming the look of a Leftist whereas in fact he helps the Rightists at every possible instant...." ("Letter to Iniesa Almende 印涅萨·阿尔曼德")

When everything is stirring and seething with the outbreak of revolution, all kinds of people come to take part in the revolution. Trotsky also had a strong speculative character. In the period from 1904 to the February Revolution in 1917, he always hung around the Mensheviks and desperately opposed Lenin's party. At the time of the 6th Congress of the Bolshevik Party in 1917, the opportunist Trotsky, seeing the high tide of the revolution had set in, hastily declared that he endorsed the views of the Bolshevik Party in all respects and requested admission into the Party. Soon after Trotsky wormed his way into the Bolshevik Party, he usurped the important position as a Politburo member of the Party Central Committee. But though organizationally Trotsky joined the Party, he was not wholly with the Party ideologically, as he was deeply afflicted with opportunism, a disease which struck given the chance. After the victory of the October Revolution, Trotsky, far from giving up the opportunist merchandise he had advertised time and again in the past, attempted to substitute Trotskyism for Leninism, and brought out for sale once again all that rubbish that he hid in his cupboard. So it was with Zinoviev, who during the October Revolution committed mistakes of pessimism, suspiciousness and capitulationism. After he was being criticized by Lenin, he showed repentance and again served on the Central Committee. To Trotsky, Zinoviev and their like, both Lenin and Stalin did not resort to the policy of finishing them off with a single blow, but permitted them to make mistakes and examine themselves and welcomed them when they had made amends. However, though Trotsky and Zinoviev and their like conducted self-examinations many times and made a number of statements, in practice, they still stubbornly held on to their own views and refused to repent, earning themselves the name as opportunist diehards. Such diehards are always very ambitious, and political ambition is the root-cause of all hypocrisy and lies. After they are exposed, they cover themselves up only to be further exposed until they are thoroughly unmasked and completely crushed. This is their inevitable end.

In the course of leading the Soviet revolution, Lenin carried out consistent struggle against Trotskyism. While leading the Soviet socialist revolution and socialist construction, Stalin exercised great patience in continuing to severely expose, criticize, educate and save Trotsky and his gang. But Trotsky and Zinoviev misjudged the consciousness of the Soviet Party members and the Soviet people. They always liked to make a show of

themselves with figures and percentages, saying that 99 percent of the people supported them. But actually that was not the case at all. Just after the Trotsky-Zenoviev alliance made public its August statement, the Central Committee of the CPSU openly published in newspapers some of the articles they wrote and speeches they made, and even distributed to the several hundred thousand Party members transcripts of several plenary sessions of the Central Committee, so that they might compare the Leninist line with the opportunist line of the Trotsky-Zinoviev alliance and draw their conclusions. The Soviet Party's Central Committee headed by Stalin especially adopted the following decision: "To take all measures to influence ideologically and persuade the ordinary members of the Trotskyist opposition." From October to November 1927, after a mass debate within the Party, over 99 percent of the more than 720,000 Party members voted against the opportunist line of the Trotsky-Zinoviev alliance and in support of the Leninist line followed by the Central Committee of the CPSU. Most of those who were hoodwinked and deceived by the Trotsky-Zinoviev alliance and had committed mistakes received profound education from the mass debate on the struggle between the two lines; after they had sincerely examined themselves and corrected their mistakes, they were finally further united under the banner of Leninism, and the dictatorship of the proletariat was consolidated. By then, the chieftains of the Trotsky-Zinoviev alliance were isolated as never before among vast numbers of Party members and the Soviet people.

The outcome of the Trotsky-Zinoviev alliance naturally reminds one of another opportunist chieftain within the Soviet Communist Party, Bukharin. This man was also an old hand at juggling with false self-examinations. Bukharin joined the Russian Social-Democratic Workers' Party in 1906. Due to his complete ignorance of Marxist theory, he committed a series of theoretical mistakes in betrayal of Marxism-Leninism and was criticized by Lenin and Stalin many times. After the collapse of the Trotsky-Zinoviev alliance, he had the nerve to rig up a new anti-Party group to push a revisionist line inside the Party, advocating the theory of the dying out of class struggle and the theory of productive forces and resorting to eclectic sophistry. Led by Comrade Stalin, the Bolsheviks waged a tit-for-tat struggle against Bukharin and his like to defend the Leninist line. To deceive the Party and the Soviet people, from August to November 1928, Bukharin twice hypocritically stated that he had no differences with the Party. Yet, at the same time, Bukharin maintained secret connections with the Trotskyist Kamenev. Later, he continued to carry out large-scale criminal activities to tamper with the Leninist line, thereby sliding farther down the revisionist line. By 1934, in order to cover up their hideous features, Bukharin and Zinoviev made speeches of remorse. Moreover, in an article entitled "We Are the Only State Embodying the Progressive Forces of History," Bukharin examined his own mistakes. He said:

> The Rightists with whom I was formerly associated had another political line, one that opposed all-out socialist offensive and opposed new powerful attack by our Party against capitalist elements.
>
> -- "Pravda," January 31, 1934

In this self-examination, Bukharin admitted that he had committed a great number of theoretical mistakes and gave himself a variety of labels. But what is false is false. However persuasive these self-examinations and statements may sound, unless they are supported by facts, they are no more better than a hoax. Bukharin's refusal to repent even till his death is a profound illustration of this point.

By recalling the struggle waged by the Soviet Communist Party headed by Stalin against Trotsky, Zinoviev, Bukharin and their like, one can see clearly that chieftains of opportunist lines, due to their class nature and double-faced style, can hardly be transformed. However, the vast numbers of the Communist Party members and revolutionary people support the Marxist-Leninist line and stand for taking the socialist road. Even those comrades who follow the opportunist line will rise up and struggle against it once they genuinely raise their understanding. This indicates that under the dictatorship of the proletariat, any course of perverse action, any attempt to restore capitalism and turn back the chariot of history, goes against the will of the people. Although the Trotsky-Zinoviev alliance and the Bukharin group had long been swept into the dustbin of history, the self-examinations they left behind are a very valuable set of teaching materials by negative example. These materials convincingly prove that the disease of obstinacy is a special symptom of opportunist chieftains. If a small illness is not treated in time, all kinds of diseases will attack. And when one reaches the point of "no return," one will plunge into despair. Wasn't such a road taken by Trotsky, Zinoviev and Bukharin?

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The Working Class Is the Main Force in Beating Back the Right Deviationist Wind of Reversing Verdicts

- Minutes of a workers criticism meeting

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 3, March 14, 1976)

Study and Criticism Editor's Note:

The essence of the revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link" dished up by that unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party is to restore capitalism. Under the guise of "achieving four modernizations" and "accelerating industrial production," they seek to blow an "economic typhoon," vainly trying to wipe out the fruits of victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution and resuscitate the bankrupt revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao. The working class as the main force in beating back the Right deviationist wind of restoring verdicts focuses its criticism on that unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party and the revisionist line he has pursued, and repulses the Right deviation attempt by grasping revolution and promoting production. What follows is the minutes of a workers criticism meeting.

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"Correcting a Longstanding Habit Is Difficult" -- Dirt Flung at Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

Wang Ping-ying (The Shanghai No. 5 Iron and Steel Mill):

We workers are furious over the way that unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party vilified the excellent situation that has prevailed since the great proletarian cultural revolution as under the sway of a "longstanding habit." This remark is no different from the old tune he harped in the years he teamed up with Liu Shao-ch'i in pushing the revisionist line. As early as the 1960's they attacked our drive to produce more steel as "unrewarding" and "committing an offense" and forced us to "make an appropriate retreat" and "dismount." We however were determined to heed what Chairman Mao said and weathered the adverse current. With the blast furnaces burning and people not quitting, we defended the fruits of the big leap forward with practical actions. Although Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line was liquidated during the great cultural revolution, his confederate has now become the source of the Right deviationist wind of reversing verdicts. What our plant has practiced gives a forceful rebuttal to his reference to a "longstanding habit." It is exactly the great proletarian cultural revolution that smashed Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line and spurred the accelerated

development of industrial production. Our 1970 steel output broke through a decade of doldrums, with an annual rise of about 30 percent in subsequent years. Last year saw the fulfillment of the national plans 33 days ahead of schedule. With steel output more than doubling that before the great cultural revolution, labor productivity up five times and the quality of products steadily improving, isn't it true that this is something like a "longstanding habit that defies correction"?

Ch'i Teng-mei (The Huchiang Machinery Works):

The phrase "it will be difficult to correct a longstanding habit" is nothing but a copy of Confucius' clamors such as "Misrule prevails throughout the empire" and "rites have been abandoned and music ruined." Confucius dreamed of restoring the Western Chou slave system to its former "glory," while that unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party schemed of returning to the revisionist track of his dreams. The words "a longstanding habit" thus embody their vilification of reality and their lament when they find themselves at the end of their rope. Take our plant as an example. Since the great cultural revolution the workers have adhered to the line and kept to the orientation, apart from taking part in the battle for the occupation of the superstructure and setting up the factory-run "July 21" workers university. This has considerably enhanced the workers' socialist enthusiasm. Whereas previously the plant was only capable of turning out vehicles and furnaces, it has now progressed to the stage of producing heavy machinery and complete sets of metallurgical and mining equipment. Compared to the period prior to the great cultural revolution, output has gone up fourfold, product value up by 3.8 times, and labor productivity doubled. A host of problems that remained unsolved at the time when the revisionist line held sway have all been resolved. The unrepentant capitalist roaders in the Party are the bourgeoisie in the Party. Finding it difficult to return to the revisionist path is woebegone for them but a fine thing for the vast numbers of revolutionary people.

"Pushing Up" Serves As a Guise for "Dragging" Backward

Hsü Sung-feng (The Shanghai Coking Plant):

All diehards going backward always try to drum up something to hoodwink the masses. Haven't those capitalist roaders in the Party who refuse to mend their ways tried their hand at "pushing up"? Chairman Mao has recently taught us: "What! Taking the three directives as the key link! Stability and unity do not mean writing off class struggle. Class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it." This is a most forceful, tit-for-tat rebuttal of the revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link."
By taking this and that as key link, the unrepentant capitalist roaders in the Party seek to negate class struggle as the key link. We must

not be fooled by their trick in the belief that they still have the "enthusiasm" to "push up the national economy."

Kuo I-ch'eng (The Shanghai No. 1 Petroleum Machinery Plant) and Lin Lung-chi (The Fengshou Tractors Plant):

Citing the theory of the dying out of class struggle and the theory of productive forces, the unrepentant capitalist roaders in the Party have dished up the so-called regulation for the "accelerated development of industry," a regulation that can only undermine the economic base of socialism. Under the guise of "pushing up," they in reality try to "go back" to capitalism. Chairman Mao's call to boost the national economy means winning new victories in "grasping revolution and promoting production" under the dictatorship of the proletariat. When the unrepentant capitalist roaders in the Party take over this revolutionary slogan, they add the words "as the key link." This means that as long as they can "push forward" they can altogether ignore the dictatorship of the proletariat and things like combating and preventing revisionism, and put a premium on bourgeois experts and the capitalist system of operation and management. This is no different from harping on the old tune -- "No matter whether a cat is black or white it is a good cat as long as it can catch mice." They take advantage of the people's eagerness for an accelerated advancement of the national economy to create confusion, vainly trying to lead our country down the evil path of capitalist restoration. We must completely unmask them because the farce of preaching restoration and regression is detrimental to both socialist revolution and construction.

The "Major Policy" of Fawning on Things Foreign, National Betrayal and Capitulation

Yü Shun-k'ang (The Shanghai Turbine Plant):

What should be done to quicken the tempo of construction? On numerous occasions the unrepentant capitalist roaders in the Party have advocated "importing more advanced foreign technology." While it is essential to absorb from abroad some technology and equipment in line with socialist construction needs, they absurdly downgrade our adherence to the policy of maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and self-reliance as "arrogance and conceit" and a manifestation of the "Ah Q spirit." When our plant was ready to trial manufacture an electric motor of high output self-reliantly, those who worshipped foreign things did everything possible to block us from carrying out our project, such as deferring in providing us with designing and installation data. On the contrary, before negotiations on the import of similar machinery from capitalist countries commenced, all the required data regarding installation and other technical details were ready. Not until the masses had struggled against them did they designate the zones for the installation of the products of Chinese manufacture on a trial basis.

Not long afterward, the Right deviationist wind of reversing verdicts held sway and thus the designated zone of installation was again occupied by an imported set of motors. Our worker-comrades said angrily: There is no room in our own land for our own products. Isn't this an attempt to inflate the arrogance of the foreign bourgeoisie and deflate the spirit of the Chinese working class?

Ch'eng I-tseng (The Chiangnan Shipyard):

This is also true of building the S.S. "Fengching" in our shipyard and our endeavor to make it an ocean-going ship. We insisted on equipping the vessel with the main engine of our own manufacture, but some people ridiculed us for lacking the conditions for producing the main engine for the ship. The shipyard workers, however, countered by pledging to pool their efforts to produce the main engine, "the heart of a ship," for the 10,000-ton class ocean liner and defied others trying to stop them from doing so. With everyone pitching in with vigor, the main engine that beat foreign versions was finally produced. When the vessel on completion was ready for sailing to distant seas, these people again predicted that the vessel, all set for a long journey, would have to replace instruments of Chinese manufacture with imported navigation devices. With the backing of the workers from different trades and professions, we held our ground in the tit-for-tat encounter and instead replaced three imported products, such as the scanner, ultra high frequency radio phone and nylon cable, with China-made products. In this struggle between the two lines, one side clearly wanted to get rid of Chinese products while the other side insisted on using the domestic versions. We have now come to realize that the reason why some of our comrades have been under the sway of fawning on foreign things is that the capitulationist line of the unrepentant capitalist roaders in the Party is the cause of all mischief.

Wang Ch'eng-kang (The Meishan Iron Mine):

The unrepentant capitalist roaders in the Party have spared no effort to repress the Chinese working class' spirit of doing things self-reliantly but displayed submissiveness to the foreign bourgeoisie. They say some technologically advanced mining equipment essential to accelerating the opening of mines must be "imported." This means that without "crucial" foreign "aid," it would be impossible to accelerate the exploitation on our mines. Without the foreigners, will our construction move at a slow pace? No. By relying on the vast numbers of workers and revolutionary technicians, designing and producing the necessary equipment ourselves, the first phase of our Meishan Iron Mine project got off to a good start in a very short time. This shows that with Chairman Mao's revolutionary line as guidance and by relying wholeheartedly on the working class, no difficulty can really stop us.

It follows that "if more things are imported," more will have to be exported. Their argument is that these imports are to be paid for with the coal and crude oil that we have produced, asserting that this is a "major policy." According to this policy, the foreigners who were asked to exploit iron mines in our country were paid for with iron ore and these shipments were converted into equipment with foreign capital and resold to us at a high price. At criticism sessions old workers have recalled how jointly operated Japanese and Chinese textile mills in old Shanghai exploited the Chinese people's labor with China-grown cotton and then sold the textile goods to Chinese consumers. If their policy is followed, won't our industrial enterprises become the branch factories of the foreign bourgeoisie like the Sino-Japanese textile mills in the days of old Shanghai? If this so-called "major policy" is not a betrayal of national sovereignty at the expense of economic and political independence, what else could it be?

Ch'en Hsiao-chu (The Electron Tubes No. 2 Plant):

Let me give an example of the utter absurdity of those who fawn upon foreign things. During the great cultural revolution and in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the workers of our plant, a manufacturer of electron tubes, criticized the slavish comprador philosophy of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao and their policy of trailing behind at a snail's pace. We were then able to produce black-and-white and color electron tubes. But some people complained about our slow pace and planned to import a complete set of equipment for producing electron tubes on an assembly line basis. Negotiations dragged on for a number of years but they were inconclusive. When this became known to the workers, they were so furious that they pledged to set up an assembly line by relying on their own efforts.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "Relying mainly on our own efforts while making external assistance subsidiary, break down blind faith, go in for industry, agriculture and technical and cultural revolutions independently, do away with slavishness, bury dogmatism, learn from the good experience of other countries conscientiously, and be sure to study their bad experience too, so as to draw lessons from it. This is our line." If we adhere to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and struggle hard, we shall be able to build our country into a powerful, modern socialist state. If on the contrary the revisionist line pushed by the unrepentant capitalist roaders in the Party prevails, then the Chinese people, in Lü Hsün's words, "will forever be submissive to their master and suffer." This is something we must never tolerate.

Undermine "Three-in-One Combination" Revolutionary Committees, Plot To Restore "The Director As Commander and Four Chiefs As Housekeepers"

Wang Ming-hsia (The Shanghai Deep Well Pumps Plant):

The unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party is assertive and overbearing toward the Chinese working class, although he behaves like a spineless worm before the foreign bourgeoisie. Carrying the banner of "adjusting," he has insisted on "adjusting" this and that in order to forcibly push his revisionist line. Repudiating class struggle as the key link, he has repressed those leading groups he refers to as "soft, lazy and lax." He has vilified those workers who have been promoted to cadres, declaring they are "ignorant in politics and totally inexperienced in production" and as such should be suppressed. Our revolutionary new cadres are naturally "ignorant" of bourgeois politics and "inexperienced" in the revisionist approach to production and operation, but these are their good points. Taking advantage of part of the powers held in their hands, those blowing the Right deviationist wind of reversing verdicts draw in those who are acceptable to them and expel those who are unacceptable to them. This is aimed at undermining the revolutionary committees that combine the old, the middle-aged and the young.

Hsü Wen-pao (The Shanghai Paper-Making Machinery Plant):

Leadership over enterprises must be exercised by the true Marxists and the worker masses. Vainly trying to disintegrate the "three-in-one combination" revolutionary committees, they seek to restore the revisionist system of the "director (factory director) as commander and the four chiefs (chief engineer, chief designer, chief mechanic, and chief accountant) as housekeepers" in opposition to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. The revolutionary committee, a new thing which appeared during the great cultural revolution, has Chairman Mao's warm commendation. We workers cherish it. We will never permit the unrepentant capitalist roaders in the Party to undermine and vilify it, or usurp its leadership.

Wang Chiang (The Shanghai No. 1 Iron and Steel Mill):

In doing their utmost to advocate the idea of developing the economy by relying on the "contingent of professionals versed in technology and vocational affairs" -- instead of relying on the workers, peasants and soldiers which is "relative" -- the unrepentant capitalist roaders in the Party conspire to restore the revisionist system of enterprise management such as favoring the "director as commander and the four chiefs as housekeepers." This is an open attempt to oppose Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on behalf of the bourgeoisie and those bourgeois intellectuals who have not been properly reformed. Chairman Mao teaches us: "Wholeheartedly rely on the working class." They pursue the technocratic line of seeking to control the majority by a minority, a black line that leads to capitalism. In the Soviet Union the bourgeois experts serve as

the mainstay of social imperialism. Liu Shao-ch'i's "line of favoring the employment of experts" resulted in a number of enterprises changing their color. The unrepentant capitalist roaders in the Party are thinking of going backward but this course will not be permitted by us workers.

One-Sidedly Stress "Rigid Regulations and Systems," Vainly Try To Control and Repress the Workers

Chou Hsing-ken (The Shanghai Wrist Watch Plant):

Those who blow the Right deviationist wind of reversing verdicts are big bureaucrats bitterly hostile to the masses, vainly trying to lay down a set of "rigid regulations and systems" according to the revisionist line for the purpose of tying the hands and feet of the masses and repressing their socialist enthusiasm so they could defend the interests of the big revisionist officials. We approve of rational regulations and systems that reflect socialist relations of production but disapprove of irrational regulations and systems that reflect capitalist relations of production, and these have to go. The unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party has viewed the "responsibility system" as the "heart" of enterprise management in open defiance of the "two-participation, one-reform and three-in-one combination." Facts speak louder than words. At one time the quality of our wrist watches dropped. This was attributed to "chaotic and slack" enterprise management, at a time when the Right deviationist wind of reversing verdicts prevailed. After conducting investigation the workers found that the problem was not due to laxity in the formulation of regulations and systems, but to importance attached to quantity rather than quality on the part of some responsible personnel. After relentlessly criticizing "putting production value in command" and adhering to quality control, the quality of wrist watches rose quickly, with a rise in quantity by a wide margin. Facts prove that once the line is set right and when the workers have truly become the master of the house and men's interrelations adjusted, then it will be possible to promote the development of production.

T'an Chih-yao (The Shanghai Boiler Plant):

Lenin once pointed out: "Socialism is not established on orders from the above. It is basically irreconcilable to bureaucratic practices in officialdom. Vibrant and creative socialism is brought about by the masses of the people themselves." When last year we were given a fighting task on the Chinshan worksite at short notice, a temporary piece of field work not subject to regulations and systems, the workers displayed the conscious spirit of holding themselves responsible to the Party and the state and braved the rigors of the elements. Working day and night, they finally succeeded in accomplishing the job at a quick tempo of installing two huge spherical drums. When battling amid hardship and groping along, they helped in formulating a number of rational systems.

This fact serves to give a forceful rebuttal to the Right deviation wind of reversing verdicts.

Mao Ching-ying (The Shanghai Telecommunications Equipment Plant):

The "Anshan Steel Charter" formulated by Chairman Mao requires us to change irrational regulations and systems. During the great cultural revolution we changed a host of irrational regulations and systems. Some people have now gone so far as to omit the class content of established regulations and systems and have called for rigid controls. This is aimed at controlling, restraining and repressing the workers.

The Electroplating and Spraying Group of our plant has been given more work to do since the great cultural revolution although the staff has been reduced from 45 to 22. Yet they continue to study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought, criticize the bourgeoisie and revisionism. Displaying the communist spirit, all the comrades of this group have consciously participated in voluntary labor to insure that the production tasks are completed in time. Is this due to the application of "rigid" regulations and systems? Of course not. It is the result of criticizing the revisionist line of enterprise management, changing the irrational regulations and systems and adjusting the interrelations within the individual enterprises, thereby arousing the socialist enthusiasm of the vast numbers of workers.

Preaching Material Incentives Is To Extend Bourgeois Rights

Wu Chung-ch'i (The Shanghai No. 2 Iron and Steel Mill):

What is the motive force for making a success of socialist production? The unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party said, "Without meat to go round, how can industry be given a shot in the arm?" He also repeatedly referred to the workers of another place, saying that with the conditions of that locality, the workers of this place "will not fare any worse." This remark was derogatory to our country's economic situation and provoked the relations between the workers of the two places. His vicious remark was a great insult to us in that he downgraded our working class as philistines who would exert themselves "as long as they are given meat."

What can material incentives do in the way of arousing enthusiasm? Nothing but individualist enthusiasm. On this question, our plant has learned profound lessons. Previously, a particularly complicated production process requiring manual operation became the "bottleneck" to production in one of the workshops. Prior to the great cultural revolution, under the sway of Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line, the leadership of the plant conceived the idea of posting an announcement on the gate of the factory building offering a reward of ¥500 to anyone who could

overcome this technological bottleneck. To claim this cash reward, several technicians worked behind closed doors in secret. Their labors were unsuccessful and cost the state a large amount of funds. The great cultural revolution smashed the revisionist line that had enfettered the workers in running enterprises. A "three-in-one combination" group was formed to tackle the technological bottleneck. With collective wisdom brought into play, it took the group only 14 days to produce an automatic device as a substitute for the manually operated process. Where the cash reward failed to break the bottleneck, a longstanding hurdle was cleared without costing the state a cent. This shows that it is proletarian politics in command, not material incentives, that worked wonders.

Lou Chung-fu (The Yangshup'u Loading and Unloading Station):

Innumberable deeds that carry forward the communist spirit without caring for either remuneration or fame and personal gain have appeared at Yangshup'u Loading and Unloading Station. Last April one of our operating groups was assigned the task of removing chemical fertilizer as expeditiously as possible. By studying the theory of proletarian dictatorship and displaying soaring revolutionary vigor, the group, with 20 men doing the same amount of work as 60, accomplished the task three days ahead of schedule. After battling for seven days and seven nights, the worker masses had not asked for a raise of one cent in their pay or one day of rest. Is it true that this revolutionary and death-defying spirit can be fostered with money or other inducements? The comrades had a very good answer: "We don't want the banknotes in command. We want to use our practical actions to restrict bourgeois rights, defend the fruits of victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution and contribute more of our efforts to socialism."

Promoting material incentives is an important means to widen bourgeois rights and restore capitalism. The unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party promoted the use of material incentives to blacken the workers and lure them to fall into his bait. This apologist for bourgeois rights called for "a material basis" to "restrict bourgeois rights." Therefore, he laid stress on "getting more for performing more work" and emphasized "priorities" and "differences." The development of these "differences" would bring about polarity, clearly a plot to strengthen bourgeois rights, erode and split the working class ranks, and foster new bourgeois elements. We will not be taken in by his trick. The promotion of material incentives in the Soviet Union by a handful of the bureaucrat-monopoly bourgeoisie is a means of exploiting the vast numbers of workers. By openly preaching the superiority of material incentives, are we not clear what the unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party is up to?

Preaching the Theory of Productive Forces Is To Restore Capitalism

Wu Shu-i (The Shanghai No. 3 Woolen Blanket Plant):

With a guilty conscience, the unrepentant capitalist roaders in the Party defended themselves by saying that by "productive forces, we mean first and foremost science" and not the theory of productive forces and that "everything for the four modernizations" is likewise not the theory of productive forces. These fallacies in fact originate from the old tune of the theory of productive forces. They also said, "Stop criticizing the theory of productive forces; otherwise, how can production be pushed up?" This shows they bitterly hate and mortally fear workers' criticism of the theory of productive forces. We must criticize the theory of productive forces because this contributes to the advancement of production. Ours is a socialist state that takes class struggle as the key link and persists in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Our fundamental task is to wipe out all classes and class distinctions until communism is realized. Departing from this fundamental task, any discussion on "promotion of productivity" and "four modernizations" will only lead us down the wrong path. A socialist enterprise is entrusted with the task of production and construction. It is not merely an economic organization engaged in turning out products. Chairman Mao has said, "Unite for the sake of a single purpose, that is, consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. This should be carried out in every factory, every village, government organ and school." Therefore, keeping to the socialist orientation and making the enterprise a solid foundation of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the primary and basic task of the factory. Departing from this prerequisite will land us in the revisionist quagmire.

Prior to the great proletarian cultural revolution, our plant was under the influence and interference of Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line for running enterprises -- grasping production without making revolution. In order to obtain profits amounting to ¥1.4 million in 1964, grasping class struggle and putting proletarian politics in command were put aside and all political activities ceased to make way for the 1.4 million. As a result, the powers for running enterprises slipped, the workers' socialist enthusiasm was repressed and production failed to advance at an accelerated pace. The great cultural revolution brought profound changes to our plant. Led by the Party branch, the workers persisted in studying Marxism-Leninism, criticizing revisionism and capitalism and practicing socialism in a big way. This contributed to a sustained rise in the level of production and led to the production of cotton blanket knitting machines that matched advanced world levels. In the decade following the great cultural revolution, the amount of profits delivered to the state is sufficient to build ten and a half woolen blanket plants of our size.

Wang Shu-li (The Shanghai No. 17 Cotton Textile Mill):

Through succeeding ages the theory of productive forces has been used as a reactionary ideological weapon by both new and old revisionists to counter the proletarian revolution. It denies class struggle as the motive force in the development of the human society and attributes this role to productive forces (referring mainly to production tools and technology). It regards the development of the human society as the natural outcome of the development of productive forces. Facts, however, are relentless in refuting and rejecting the theory of productive forces. Without the Chinese people's war of liberation led by Chairman Mao, could our country's productive forces have developed to its present dimensions? Without the great cultural revolution, could we have made such immense achievements? The reason why the unrepentant capitalist roaders in the Party have done everything possible to preach the theory of productive forces is to oppose the proletarian revolution. The proletariat wants revolution but they ban revolution and struggle against the proletariat on behalf of the bourgeoisie. Throughout the entire historical period of socialism, the principal contradiction is the one between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and the target of struggle are the capitalist roaders in the Party. We must never forget this.

Our factory workers said, "The theory of productive forces, like grass whose roots have not been cleared, reappears when the weather changes." The theory of productive forces is opposed to changes in the relations of production. The process of continuously adjusting the socialist relations of production is likewise the process of restricting bourgeois rights. Since the theory of productive forces safeguards bourgeois rights, at the moment it still has its definite social basis.

The unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party is a restorationist maniac. It won't do not to launch the great proletarian cultural revolution, and it also won't do not to launch the struggle to beat back the Right deviation wind of reversing verdicts. Before and after last summer, that unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party had theory and a program, fanning the Right deviationist wind of reversing verdicts in an organized and planned manner. The workers, poor and lower-middle peasants and the revolutionary people, however, want revolution. Those capitalist roaders who are on the capitalist road are very isolated. "With power and to spare, let us pursue the tottering foe." Led by the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, the workers of Shanghai are determined to carry the big struggle between the two classes, a struggle relating to the future and destiny of our Party and our country, to its completion!

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Proletarian Dictatorship and Restriction of Bourgeois Rights

by

Chuang Lan (庄岚)

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 3, March 14, 1976)

In the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution, a large number of socialist new things to restrict bourgeois rights came to the fore on every front. The Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts stirred up by the unrepentant capitalist roaders within the Party was a reaction against the great proletarian cultural revolution and also against restriction of bourgeois rights. The heart of this reaction was its vain effort to overthrow proletarian dictatorship and restore capitalism.

Why do the capitalist roaders within the Party so fiercely oppose the restriction of bourgeois rights? It is because bourgeois rights are the soil that produces capitalism and revisionism. Chairman Mao points out: "Our country at present practices a commodity system and the wage system is unequal too, as in the eight-grade wage scale, and so forth. These can only be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Therefore, if people like Lin Piao should come to power, it will be quite easy for them to rig up the capitalist system." This tells us that the restriction of bourgeois rights holds great significance for consolidating proletarian dictatorship and guarding against capitalist restoration. China is a socialist state but bourgeois rights still exist. In our country the socialist transformation of ownership of the means of production is basically, but not thoroughly, completed. Ownership by the whole people in the agricultural sector, which is the foundation of our national economy, is still very weak and there are still remnants of private ownership in industry, agriculture and commerce. If bourgeois rights are not thoroughly eliminated in the ownership sector, then obvious contradictions will occur between them and the socialist economic base. In mutual relations among people, the old society's work style of being rigidly rank conscious, with unequal treatment of people and acting as a high and mighty official is still quite prevalent. Where bourgeois rights are prevalent to a serious extent in human relationships, they can similarly undermine the socialist economic base. At present, we practice distribution according to labor, exchange at equal values and the eight-grade wage scale. If people want to buy grain, firewood, oil or vegetables, they must have money. Bourgeois rights occupy the dominant position in matters of distribution and it is easy for polarization to take place. This shows, then, that the economic base in our socialist state is still not stable. After the old bourgeois elements lost their political power and means of production, they are like a man drowning in a river who clutches at a straw; they desperately cling to bourgeois rights and regard them as an important condition for practicing restoration. The new bourgeois elements also greedily try to grab for

personal gain by expanding bourgeois rights and developing capitalism. The capitalist roaders within the Party, who serve as agents for the bourgeoisie, are bound to promote a revisionist line to expand bourgeois rights so as to cultivate and enlarge the socialist base for restoring capitalism; without a doubt they harbor a mortal fear and dead hatred for the restriction of bourgeois rights.

The historical task for proletarian dictatorship is the abolition of all classes and the ultimate realization of communism. After the victory of the October Revolution, Lenin said: "What does the 'abolition of classes' mean? All those who call themselves socialists recognize this as the ultimate goal of socialism, but by no means all ponder over its significance. Classes are large groups of people which differ from each other by the place they occupy in a historically determined system of social production, by their relation (in most cases fixed and formulated in law) to the means of production, by their role in the socialist organization of labor, and, consequently, by the dimensions and mode of acquiring the share of social wealth of which they dispose. Classes are groups of people one of which can appropriate the labor of another owing to the different places they occupy in a definite system of social economy." ("A Great Beginning") The criteria for differentiating classes which Lenin discussed are also the three aspects of production relations. To be sure, all factors in production relations are determined by the ownership of the means of production. However, as for the other two aspects of production relations, that is, relations among people and in distribution, both can react against the ownership system. If there are no restrictions against bourgeois rights in these two areas, they may in turn affect the ownership system and might even lead to capitalist restoration in this sector. When Lenin discussed class relations in the socialist period, he especially stressed the problem of new bourgeois elements emerging. Lenin said that the soil of bourgeois rights had produced and was still producing a great many capitalists. Therefore, in order to completely abolish classes, not only must we overthrow the exploiters, that is, landlords and capitalists, not only must we do away with their ownership system, but we must also get rid of all private ownership over the means of production, eliminate the three major differences and abolish bourgeois rights. If we are to fulfill step by step this incomparably important historical task, we must restrict bourgeois rights under proletarian dictatorship and must not allow this soil for producing the bourgeoisie to be expanded.

There is a process for the production, development and abolition of bourgeois rights. Bourgeois rights that exist in the socialist era are bound to be reflected in the sphere of the superstructure. Lenin put it well: in the primary stage of communism, "there remains for a time not only bourgeois rights, but even the bourgeois state -- without the bourgeoisie!" ("The State and Revolution") We have now built such a state, and we must still safeguard bourgeois rights; on this point there is not much difference with the old society. However, a state under proletarian dictatorship is, after all, essentially different from a state under bourgeois dictatorship. The bourgeoisie always hypocritically

regards socialism as something rigid, frozen and immutable. This is also true of bourgeois rights. We must recognize and deal with those bourgeois rights which still exist in conformity with the law, restrict and narrow them appropriately, and create conditions for their gradual abolition. But the viewpoint which demands that bourgeois rights be frozen in place is actually that of those who want to change a state under proletarian dictatorship into a state under bourgeois dictatorship. Revolutionary dialectics does not admit the existence of anything that does not change and safeguarding bourgeois rights definitely doesn't mean we do not want to restrict and reduce them. When we speak of guaranteeing bourgeois rights it is precisely with the understanding that they will be abolished. The objective is not to guarantee but to abolish them. The transition from socialism to communism, from consolidation of proletarian dictatorship to withering away of the state, is a process of continuous revolution under proletarian dictatorship, and also a process of restricting, reducing and gradually abolishing bourgeois rights.

Is it necessary to restrict bourgeois rights under proletarian dictatorship? This has all along been an important part of the struggle between the Marxist line and the revisionist line. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, our Party and state have adopted a series of revolutionary measures to restrict bourgeois rights. However, none of these revolutionary measures has not been boycotted and sabotaged by revisionist chieftains within the Party. Why does that unrepentant capitalist roader within the Party want to reverse the verdict on the great cultural revolution? Why does he want to smear and axe the new things of socialism? Why is he angry with the criticism of bourgeois rights? This can only signify that what he pushes is a revisionist line against Marxism.

There are deep ideological and class reasons why that unrepentant capitalist roader within the Party has tried so desperately to oppose limitation of bourgeois rights. As Chairman Mao has said, the Right opportunist elements within the Party have never been proletarian revolutionaries but simply bourgeois and petty bourgeois democrats who wormed their way into the proletarian revolutionary ranks; they have never been Marxist-Leninists but merely fellow travellers in the Party. That unrepentant capitalist roader within the Party is precisely such a man. He has had socialism on his lips for a good many years, but when socialism comes to seek him out, he displays total aversion for socialist revolution and runs over to the capitalist road. Such a man, as Lu Hsün pointed out, took part in revolution "merely to contend for an old chair. When he starts to push for it, he acts as though the chair were very undesirable, but as soon as he has it in his grasp he treats it like a treasure." ("A Glance at Shanghai's Literature and Art") In the period of democratic revolution, these people, oppressed by the three big mountains, possessed a certain democratic revolutionary activism and were bourgeois democrats. Yet when the revolution passed from the stage of new democratic revolution to one of socialist revolution, though they entered the socialist society, their thinking still stayed behind in the democratic revolutionary stage. They took part in the revolution simply to become "shareholders";

they called for rewarding merit, thinking they had done good work in overthrowing the three big mountains. They said that even if they had not performed merit, they had done hard work and it should be their turn to grab and enjoy. As the socialist revolution deepens, it not only runs up against the system of private ownership but also against bourgeois rights. That is why they cannot restrain themselves and are bound to jump out to oppose socialist revolution and the restriction of bourgeois rights.

In order to oppose restriction of bourgeois rights, the unrepentant capitalist roaders within the Party have concocted all sorts of absurd arguments. They say the revolutionary measures we have now adopted to restrict bourgeois rights are "basically divorced from reality, and designed to practice communism now." This is a vain attempt to use rumors about skipping a revolutionary stage to confuse and poison people's minds. This so-called "reality" of the unrepentant capitalist roaders within the Party is none other than "vestiges" left over from the old society; it is also that "skin" of bourgeois rights upon which they depend to stay alive. They wish to safeguard this "skin" by every means possible and want this "reality" to be frozen in place; they will never let people restrict or reduce it. They use the charge "divorced from reality" to declare that the new things of socialism are illegal and skip a revolutionary stage, so anxious are they to be rid of them in one fell swoop. Chairman Mao says: "We oppose the diehards in the revolutionary ranks whose thinking cannot keep pace with the changed objective conditions. Such thinking expresses itself in the form of Right opportunism in history. These people fail to see the fact that the struggle of opposites has advanced the objective process, and their cognition still remains in a past stage. The thinking of all diehards has such a characteristic." When Liu Shao-ch'i, P'eng Te-huai and their gang attacked the people's communes and the great leap forward on the ground that they were divorced from reality and represented "an attempt to leap into communism," this same characteristic was shown. When that unrepentant capitalist roader within the Party assails the restriction of bourgeois rights as being detached from reality, he also shows this characteristic. In the course of our persisting in continuous revolution under proletarian dictatorship, we must always wage struggle against these diehards.

Those unrepentant capitalist roaders within the Party also argue: "To restrict bourgeois rights requires a material foundation; without it, how can we restrict?" This is merely a pretext. From the point of view of the proletariat, a solid material foundation and a great abundance of products are important conditions for the gradual reduction and ultimate abolition of bourgeois rights in the transition to communism. How do we build this material foundation? We must persist in taking class struggle as the key link and in using revolution to command production. But those unrepentant capitalist roaders within the Party basically would not talk about revolution or class struggle, nor would they mention proletarian dictatorship. They advocate the theory of productive forces and "taking the three directives as the key link" to do away with taking class struggle

as the key link. They use welfarism, economism and bourgeois rights to corrupt people, to expand their social foundation for restoring capitalism and for doing away with proletarian dictatorship. Please comrades, think for a bit; if things are done according to their methods, what kind of situation will we have? Even granting we can have some increase in production for a time if we divorce ourselves from the proletarian struggle against the bourgeoisie and abdicate our great responsibility of opposing and guarding against revisionism, it could only be a matter of building a material foundation for capitalism and not for the proletariat. At such time, a dangerous situation would inevitably emerge where the "satellite goes up to the sky, but the red flag falls to the ground." It can be seen that using a weak material foundation as a pretext for opposing the restriction of bourgeois rights is merely intended to cover up their practice of revisionism and capitalist restoration.

In order to oppose restriction of bourgeois rights, the unrepentant capitalist roaders within the Party also spoke such nonsense as: "Our revolution always relies on material incentives" and we must "rely on material incentives to move toward communism." What does it mean by "Our revolution always relies on material incentives"? It is a pure slander. The history of our country's revolution has proved that it is by putting proletarian politics in command, intensifying communist ideological education, having a correct ideological and political line, and mobilizing the revolutionary activism of the broad masses of armymen and people that we have enabled the revolution to go from one victory to another. In the period of democratic revolution, millions of proletarian revolutionary fighters, cherishing the far-reaching ideals of communism in their hearts, heroically killed the enemy and endured plain living and hard work for the cause of the people's liberation. For a good many years our Party has adhered to the principles of the Paris Commune, to the basic principles of general equality and of sharing weal and woe with the masses. However, people in this difficult environment were nonetheless everywhere able to talk of proletarian politics, the mass line, unity of the upper and lower levels, solidarity of officers and men, the merging of army and people as one, the centralization of Party, government and army and the solidarity of people in their millions. They defeated Chiang Kai-shek, the Japanese aggressors and US imperialism. During our country's socialist revolution and construction, the masses of people have vigorously promoted the pioneering spirit of communism, demonstrated the spirit of making thoroughgoing break with the ideas of bourgeois rights, and created the thriving socialist cause. Can it be that all of this is done by relying on stimulus by banknotes? As for "relying on material incentives to move toward communism," this is an even more shameless betrayal of Marxism-Leninism. Lenin pointed out long ago: "To go forward, that is, toward communism, we must pass through the dictatorship of the proletariat." ("The State and Revolution") If we are divorced from proletarian dictatorship and indulge in material incentives, we can only build "goulash" communism, which is in fact capitalism.

Steamed bread can only be eaten one mouthful at a time and battles can only be fought one at a time. The struggle between the effort to restrict bourgeois rights and the attempt to oppose this effort will be a protracted one. From now on, we must constantly struggle with the bourgeoisie and its agents within the Party over this question. This struggle is a serious test for each and every revolutionary of ours. If we persist in Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and conscientiously restrict bourgeois rights, we can cross through this pass for socialism well; otherwise, we will become prisoners of bourgeois rights and will not get through this pass for socialism. The fanning of the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts by the unrepentant capitalist roaders within the Party is meant to cut down the great achievements in restricting bourgeois rights and to lead socialist China onto the capitalist road. In the struggle to hit back at the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, we must further raise our consciousness of the need to restrict bourgeois rights, strengthen our awareness of continuous revolution under proletarian dictatorship and gradually create conditions in which it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist or for a new one to arise.

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A Most Promising Beginning

- Survey of a farm machine specialized contingent, Tengch'iao Brigade, Chiating County

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 2, February 14, 1976)

During the mass movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture and to build up Tachai-type counties throughout the country, a fighting group is operating actively on the farm mechanization front in Tengch'iao brigade, Malu commune, Chiating county. This is the farm machine specialized contingent, which is a new thing emerging from the great proletarian cultural revolution. The moment it appeared, it developed rapidly with a strong vitality and in three years and more has grown from one specialized team to nine specialized teams, with a total of 80 members. These specialized teams are of two types. Teams of one type are organized on a regular basis, such as the machine-plowing team, the manure transportation team, the mud sucking team, the irrigation and drainage team and the farm machine repair team. Teams of the other type are organized on a crash basis, such as the rice transplanting team, the seedling pulling team, the cutting and sunning team, the soil levelling team, and the furrowing team. The establishment of this farm mechanization specialized contingent by the brigade, with young poor and lower-middle peasants as the main force, has over the past years brought about efficient use of farm implements. At present, all the fields of the brigade are plowed, irrigated and drained by machines. In the case of machine-transplanting of late rice, the area covered reaches 97.3 percent; the area for machine-cutting of early rice, 82.3 percent; the area of machine-pulling of late rice, 32.6 percent, and the area of machine-levelling of soil in wheat fields, 90 percent. With the output of grain going up year after year, the average per-mow yield has risen from 1,600 catties in 1972 to nearly 2,000 catties this year. Thus Tengch'iao brigade's machine farming contingent has become an important factor in developing agricultural mechanization, a vital and most promising detachment in spurring the growth of the people's commune.

Under what conditions was this contingent established and how has it progressed?

The first farm machine specialized team was set up in 1972. The year before, the brigade bought three small tractors for use by three production teams. During the busy farming season, these production teams were able to finish machine plowing speedily, while the other teams were unable to do so. This resulted in the development of the contradiction whereby individual teams fought for the use of these small tractors. To resolve this contradiction, the brigade Party branch in the busy summer farming of 1972 set up a specialized machine plowing team comprising six or seven persons drawn from production teams and placed the three small tractors at its disposal. The tractors were thus put to good use, with members of the detachment plowing the fields of all the production teams on a rotation basis. Consequently, all the eight production teams completed their machine plowing jobs according to schedule. The brigade Party

branch soon realized that the detachment's full-time use of farm machines would be far more effective and efficient than if the machines were placed at the disposal of individual production teams.

With the development of agricultural mechanization, the brigade continuously replenished its stock of farm machines and this development led to the cropping up of new and more serious contradictions regarding the ownership of the machines and putting them to good and efficient use. By the summer of 1974, nine more rice transplanters had been acquired by the brigade. Some people then suggested: "Let each production team be allotted one unit, use it and manage it by itself." However, a few days after the transplanters were so assigned, problems rose again: as the fields vary in size from team to team and the farming arrangements are not the same, very often in the same day transplanters of some teams just lie idle as transplanting is not done, while in other teams, one unit is simply not enough. Where these machines are needed, they are not available, but where they are available, they are not put to full use.

Repeated practice served to illustrate the need for the establishment of a farm machine specialized contingent to resolve this contradiction and to bring into play the optimum function of farm machines. On the basis of general demands of the production teams, the Party branch took prompt steps to assemble the rice transplanters and operators, with four operators handling each machine by turns, and set up a full-time transplanting team under the unified direction of a coordinator. This finally led to the resolution of the contradiction arising from improper use of farm machines.

Subsequently, similar full-time mechanized farming teams were set up in this way to meet the demand of the developing productive forces.

The establishment of the machine specialized contingent in Tengch'iao illustrates the objective necessity of conforming the relations of production to the development of productive forces, an important issue related to socialist revolution and construction in our countryside. Judging by the condition of the brigade, following the introduction of agricultural cooperation and the people's commune, the new relations of production have vigorously stimulated the growth of productive forces. Particularly after the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize the revisionist line pushed by Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, the socialist enthusiasm of the vast numbers of poor and lower-middle peasants has soared as never before and this has spurred the development of agricultural production. This shows that the relations of production at the present stage of the people's commune basically conform to the developing productive forces. However, they are still not quite perfect, and this imperfection comes into conflict with the developing productive forces. In the wake of the continuous development of agricultural mechanization in particular, the contradictory aspect has become increasingly prominent. In their practice the cadres and commune members of Tengch'iao brigade saw this problem, and so they began to take steps, under available conditions, to improve the relations of production to the extent of conforming to the developing productive forces. The establishment

of a full-time mechanized farming detachment is one of such specific measures and serves the purpose of meeting the following requirements:

One, to meet the needs of individual production teams for farm machines as far as available local conditions would permit.

The coordinated use of farm machines by the full-time mechanized farming teams contributes to accommodating the varied requirements of the production teams. Take the role of the tractor in plowing rice fields for the production teams in autumn farming as an example. On fine days, plowing about 13 mow of farmland for each production team is generally required and this amount of field work is usually considered adequate for farming purposes without unduly taxing the labor power of the production team. On overcast and rainy days, some leeway is generally left to prevent the plowed fields from being flooded with water. The coordinated use of the tractors thus would permit flexible scheduling of plowing work according to the requirements of the individual production teams. In case plowing has to be done at short notice, the mechanized farming teams can always make appropriate arrangements. In the event one of the machines in use breaks down, other machines can be speedily allocated and put to use without disrupting production. Two years ago, on one occasion the transplanting team did transplanting for Wangchia production team throughout the night. The breakdown of two rice transplanters in the matter of a few hours did not affect the transplanting task at all as other transplanters were immediately sent for.

Two, skillful operation of farm machines by the mechanized farming teams.

Since these teams are deft in the operation of farm machines, their standard of operation is high. In the case of operating seedling pulling machines, lack of skill in handling them would often damage the seedlings or the machines. In 1974, the rate of damage of seedlings was 20 percent in this brigade. After a full-time pulling team was set up, ways to improve the handling of the machine were studied collectively until the team was satisfied with the results of its endeavor. Last year, the rate of damage of rice seedlings dropped to 7-10 percent.

Three, efficient maintenance and servicing.

When farm machines broken down in the past, they were not promptly attended to and this had often affected production. Once, a manually operated tractor broke down. As nobody on hand knew anything about restoring the machine to good condition, it was dismantled and shipped to a farm machinery repair plant operated by the commune. Now, the repair team repairs and services all farm machines, except heavy-duty tractors requiring major overhaul. Moreover, the responsible member of each machine team also does repairs, with small repairs done right in the fields. As maintenance of farm machines has been substantially improved, a new system worked out by the specialized team requires cleaning and lubricating of all machines after use and their being sent back to the farm machinery

depot. After the busy farming season, all machines including transplanters and pulling machines are to be dismantled, lubricated, varnished and kept in storage. Because of attention given to maintenance and servicing, this brigade has continued to raise the operability of farm machines and to lower the repair cost.

Four, to provide facilities for conducting experiments and promoting wider use of new and improved farm machines.

The mud suction boat was first put to use in 1971, but quite a few units found it impractical and inefficient. Through practice, the suction dredge team introduced two improved suckers, which were applied to different river beds. The results were remarkable. With the solution of the mud sucking problem, the problem of machinery for applying the mud was yet to be solved. When the mud sucking boat arrived at a production team to apply mud, very often the whole team's manpower was employed and still it was found inadequate. The farm machinery repair and service team then set to work on improving the machinery for applying manure. With the help of the commune farm machinery plant, it built a manure-applying boat, which was capable of applying to the fields mud from the boat at an even and high speed. A great amount of labor power has been saved. Such a manure-applying boat can be used to apply human waste and ammonia solution as well as to combat drought.

In the course of setting up a full-time mechanized farming contingent, the Party branch of Tengch'iao brigade realized that with the rapid development of socialist agriculture the leadership should adapt its thinking to new and developing conditions and that leading personnel should blaze new trails and positively approach new and promising things emerging from practical life, instead of keeping to conventional procedures. In studying the theory of proletarian dictatorship, they reviewed Chairman Mao's important teaching: "In the broad countryside socialist elements are multiplying every day and every hour .... Our present task calls for the adoption of the Marxist-Leninist stand by local Party committees at all levels in dealing with this question so they will take upon themselves the overall task of agricultural cooperation and go all out in leading this movement." They found that although Chairman Mao issued this instruction 20 years before it was still applicable under present circumstances. In the current great revolutionary movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture and popularize Tachai-like counties, speedy modernization of agriculture calls for taking the Party's basic line as the key link, persisting in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and giving active support to the socialist new things -- with the same drive as in leading the agricultural cooperation movement in former years. In the light of realities, they have also realized that the establishment of full-time mechanized farming teams is not only an important measure for strengthening the brigade-level collective economy but also contributes to a certain extent to the restriction and narrowing of bourgeois rights in respect of the collective ownership system. In order to carry on this meaningful work, the brigade Party branch established a farm machine supervisory group, under the charge of a deputy secretary of the Party branch, for the purpose of overseeing mechanized

farming and the operation of the mechanized farming teams. Another Party branch committeeman was assigned to the brigade's farm machinery depot to strengthen leadership. During the busy farming season, cadres personally operate the farm machines and participate in labor while doing ideological and political work. Other Party branch committee members, while working in production teams, also show concern about the operation of the mechanized farming contingent and take the initiative to help those of the contingent in difficulties. They also come forward to support and encourage the contingent when it is ridiculed and attacked. Once, when a new specialized team was to be organized, a certain production team was reluctant to assign manpower to it. Thereupon, a Party branch committee member who happened to work in this team talked to the cadres and urged them to look ahead, take the general situation to heart and give positive support to new things. With the thinking of the cadres transformed, the farm machine specialized team has been run with increasingly good results.

(Ma Erh-kuei)

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Study and Criticism, No. 2, February 14, 1976

Table of Contents

Study Theory of Proletarian Dictatorship, Criticize the Revisionist Line

Comment on So-called New Argument for the Theory of Productive Forces - by Yen Feng SPRCM No. 861

Eclecticism Must Be Criticized - by Kuan Liang and Yao K'un SPRCM No. 861

Looking Back at the Big Debate in the Soviet Party in the 1920's - by Kung Hsin SPRCM No. 862

Small Discussion on Ladder and Terrace - by Chia Shu-chang

Thoughts on Reading "The Wind" - by Lo Ying

Develop in Depth the Mass Debate on Educational, Scientific and Technological Fronts

Marxism Must Command Natural Science - by Li K'o SPRCM No. 861

Selected Big-Character Posters

The Fruits of Open-Door Education Mustn't Be Negated SPRCM No. 861

What Is the Motive in Praising the White and Expert Road? SPRCM No. 861

Discern the "Tide" - by Cheng Chi-hsiung SPRCM No. 861

About "Doors: - by Ku Shu SPRCM No. 861

Criticize Doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, Comment and Discuss "Water Margin"

"Yüanyu Reform" As Seen from "Anecdotes of Hsüan Ho" - by Liang Ling-i

Reformists and Capitulationists Must Not Be Confused - by Li Cheng SPRCM No. 865

Pull Down the Temple Or Patch Up the Heaven? -- Li Chih, Water Margin and Others - by Ch'en Hsü-lu

Brief Discussion on Knights and Bandits -- Read Lu Hsün's "Transformation of a Rascal" - by Shih T'u

Study Economic Problems

A Most Promising Beginning - by Ma Erh-kuei SPRCM No. 866

New Customs of the Socialist Countryside -- Investigation of Shanyang Commune, Chinshan County - by Third-Year Investigation Team of Department of History, Futan University

A Talk on the History of Productive Forces - by Ching Ch'ih

The Cultural Front

"The Struggle Has By No Means Ceased" - by Tu Hsun-ch'eng SPRCM No. 865

Letter Received by a Television Broadcasting Station - by Huang Yüan and Others SPRCM No. 865

On Li Po's Legalist Thought - by Wu Ju-huang, Chinese Department, Hsüchou Normal College

An Inquiry into Chiehshih - by T'an Ch'i-hsiang

Researches Into Modern History

Before and After the Yenan Rectification Campaign - by Shih Tung-hui SPRCM No. 861

Notes on Wang Ching-wei's Betrayal of the Country (Concluded) - by Shih Feng

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